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ABSTRACT

This is the third in a series of analytical reports on findings in 1968-69 of the Urban Employment Survey. The Survey was designed to develop information on employment, unemployment, and work-related problems of the working-age population residing in the major poverty areas of several large cities. The present report focuses on the labor market experience and economic status of Puerto Ricans in New York City's poverty areas. Particular concern attaches to the findings that the incomes of Puerto Ricans were lower than those of Negroes or whites; that they had the highest unemployment rate; and that many other indicators of their social and economic status were unfavorable. (Author/DM)

This report is the ninteenth in a series of Regional Reports presenting and analyzing data on various aspects of labor and the economy in the Middle Atlantic Region. Earlier reports in this series are:

No. 1 *Profile 90: An analysis of Pockets of High Unemployment in New York City. August 1963* *

No. 2 *Wages 1963: Report on a Survey of Wages, Salaries, and Fringe Benefits for the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of New York, N.Y. October 1963* *

No. 3 *Jobs in the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Area. December 1964* *

No. 4 *Employment Statistics for the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Metropolitan Area, 1949-64. July 1965**

No. 5 *Seasonally Adjusted Employment Statistics for the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Metropolitan Area, 1949-64. August 1965* *

No. 6 *1966 Major Collective Bargaining in the Middle Atlantic States. February 1966* *

No. 7 *Post World War II Price Trends in Rent and Housing in the New York Metropolitan Area. June 1967* *

No. 8 *Employment Statistics, 1958-66: A Compilation of Employment Statistics for the Middle Atlantic Region. June 1968* *

No. 9 *Labor Force Experience of the Puerto Rican Worker. June 1968*

No. 10 *Changing Patterns of Employment, Income, and Living Standards in New York City. June 1968* *

No. 11 *Professional, Administrative, and Technical Pay in New York, 1968. March 1969* *

No. 12 *Charting the New York City Economy: A Graphic Summary of Recent Economic Trends. May 1969* *

No. 13 *Urban Studies Series: Poverty Area Profiles. The Working Age Population - Initial Findings. October 1969* *

No. 14 *Urban Studies Series: Poverty Area Profiles. Characteristics of the Unemployed. May 1970*

No. 15 *Professional, Administrative, and Technical Pay in New York, 1969. June 1970* *

No. 16 *Wages in the Virgin Islands, 1970. November 1970.*

No. 17 *A Price Index of Operating Costs for Uncontrolled Apartment Houses in New York City. February 1971*

No. 18 *Professional, Administrative, and Technical Pay in New York, 1970. February 1971*

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POVERTY AREA PROFILES

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THE NEW YORK PUERTO RICAN:

PATTERNS OF WORK EXPERIENCE

BEDFORD–STUYVESANT
CENTRAL HARLEM
EAST HARLEM
SOUTH BRONX

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
J.D. Hodgson, Secretary

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
Geoffrey H. Moore, Commissioner

MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGIONAL OFFICE
Herbert Bienstock, Director

UD 011655

PREFACE

This is the third in a series of analytical reports on findings from the Urban Employment Survey. The Urban Employment Survey was begun in July 1968, and was conducted in major poverty areas of New York City. These poverty areas are Central and East Harlem, the South Bronx, and the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

The Urban Employment Survey was designed to develop information on employment, unemployment and work-related problems of the working-age population (16 and over) residing in the major poverty areas of Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles and New York. The survey was directed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics with the cooperation and financing of the Manpower Administration. Data collection and tabulation were carried out by the Bureau of the Census.

The initial results of the Urban Employment Survey in New York City for the July 1968-June 1969 period were presented in Regional Report No. 13. Regional Report No. 14, titled Characteristics of the Unemployed, examined in some detail the problem of unemployment in these areas.

The present report focuses on the labor market experience and economic status of Puerto Ricans residing in the City's major poverty areas. Particular concern attaches to the findings when it is considered that average earnings and incomes of Puerto Ricans were lower than those of Negroes or whites who lived in these areas during the survey period; that they had the highest unemployment rate; and that many other indicators pertaining to their social and economic status were unfavorable.

The report was developed in the Division of Program and Analysis under the direction of Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, Deputy Regional Director. It was prepared by Horst Brand, under the general supervision of Jesse Benjamin.

Herbert Bienstock
Regional Director

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ERRATA

The New York Puerto Rican: Patterns of Work Experience (Regional Report Number 19) should be corrected as follows:

1) Chart 1 - Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, by Marital Status, page 17.

Bars denoting labor force participation rates for United States (March 1969) should be:

single women ..... 51 percent
widowed or
divorced women ..... 36 percent

2) Table 7 - Occupational distribution of workers born in Puerto Rico, and of Puerto Rican parentage, by level of skill and knowledge, New York City, 1960, page 20, column 2 -- Puerto Rican Parentage should be corrected as follows:

Men

Number of workers	9,096
Percent distribution	100
Professional and technical workers	7
Managers, proprietors, officials	4
Skilled blue-collar workers	16
Sub total	27

3) Table 16 - Reasons for nonparticipation in the labor force, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969, page 41, stub column should be:

Men

Total population
percent distribution
etc.

Women

Total population
Percent distribution
etc.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
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THE NEW YORK PUERTO RICAN: PATTERNS OF WORK EXPERIENCE

This report presents findings from the Urban Employment Survey on the labor market experience, economic status, and social characteristics of Puerto Ricans of working age who resided in Central and East Harlem, the South Bronx, and Bedford-Stuyvesant between July 1968 and June 1969. The Urban Employment Survey provides the first detailed body of socio-economic data on persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage residing in major New York City poverty areas since the 1960 Census.

Puerto Rican workers were the most deprived of all workers residing in the city's major poverty neighborhoods. They were far more likely than others to be unemployed or to hold lower paying jobs. Typically, they held blue-collar or service jobs requiring relatively little skill. They were greatly handicapped in the competition for employment by poor educational background: on average, Puerto Ricans 25 and over, had not gone beyond the eighth grade, while the majority of the area's residents 25 and over had completed high school or gone beyond. Lower educational attainment, unfavorable occupational attachments and concentration in industries with relatively large seasonal fluctuations in employment, combined to make for high unemployment among Puerto Rican workers: nearly 10 percent of them were jobless during the survey period, almost three times the rate for the City's white workers in 1969, and twice the rate for the City's Negro workers.

Poor education and low-skill, low-status jobs made for relatively low earnings: more than half of the 19,000 Puerto Rican men

20-64 years old who were at work at full-time jobs earned less than $100 a week during the survey period; the great majority of these men were married household heads and family breadwinners.

Partly as a consequence of the lower earnings position of family breadwinners, Puerto Rican family income in poverty areas ran far below the citywide (as well as below the overall poverty-area) average. Fifty percent of all Puerto Rican families had annual incomes of less than $5,000 -- twice the proportion for the city's families generally. Two thirds of all Puerto Rican families had less than $6,000 in income -- again twice the proportion for the city. Moreover, Puerto Rican families were two to three times more likely to live in poverty than all of the city's families. Nearly one out of every three Puerto Rican families in the city's poverty areas had incomes below the national poverty threshold for nonfarm families for 1968. For all families in New York City, the comparable proportion was 11 percent.

Other key findings from the study of Puerto Ricans in New York City's major poverty areas follow.

... The Puerto Rican working age population residing in these areas -- 86,000 persons during the survey period -- was younger than the City's population as a whole. Nearly three out of every four Puerto Ricans 16 and over were less than 45 years old, compared with one out of every two persons in the city generally. One out of every four Puerto Ricans was 16-24 years old, as against less than one out of every five of all the City's inhabitants.

... One out of every three Puerto Rican families was headed by a woman. This was three times the corresponding proportion of households nationally, but lower than for Negro families in the City's poverty areas, 41 percent of which were headed by women.

... The average size of Puerto Rican families was considerably larger than that of all the City's families or of Negro families dwelling in poverty areas. Thus, one third of all Puerto Rican families had five or more members, compared with less than a fourth of all Negro families, and one sixth for the City.

... The labor force participation rate of men 25-54 (93 percent) was in line with the corresponding citywide rate, and higher than the rate for Negro men 25-54 in poverty areas (85 percent).

... The labor force participation rate for women 25-54 (28 percent) was far below the citywide rate (50 percent). It represented only about half of the rate for Negro women in this age group in poverty areas (57 percent).

... Fewer than one fifth of employed Puerto Rican men held professional, technical, managerial or craft positions. By comparison, well over two fifths of all of the City's male workers held such jobs in 1969. Only one fourth of all employed Puerto Rican women performed clerical or sales work, while one half of the City's women work force did.

... Puerto Ricans were heavily employed in manufacturing industries, a declining sector in New York City. Two fifths of all

Puerto Rican workers had factory jobs. Payroll data suggest that only a little over one fifth of all of New York's workers are employed in manufacturing.

... The Puerto Rican unemployment rate averaged 9.6 percent during the survey period. The rate for men 25-54 years old was 7.9 percent. Higher-than-average unemployment among Puerto Rican workers may in part be related to seasonal fluctuations in nondurable industries in which a large proportion of them are employed. In the apparel industry in New York City, for example, employment figures during the year 1969, fluctuated by 8 percent between the peak month and the trough month, compared with 3 percent for all of the City's industries.

... Measured against what many employers today regard as a minimal standard of job qualification -- graduation from high school -- Puerto Rican workers were seriously disadvantaged. Four out of every five male Puerto Rican workers reported less than a high school education. Younger Puerto Rican workers (18-34) were generally better educated than older ones, but the educational-attainment gap between them and their age mates nationally remained wide: only 25 percent of the men and 52 percent of the women had four years of high school or more, compared with 70 percent and 79 percent of the labor force 18-34 years old nationally.

Growth of New York City's Puerto Rican population

The population of Puerto Rican birth or parentage is one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in New York City. According to

estimates from the Population Health Survey conducted by the Center for Social Research of City University, the number of Puerto Ricans in the five boroughs averaged about 800,000 in the years 1964-66, nearly one third again as high as the 602,000 counted by the Census of 1960.[1/] The City's Puerto Rican population numbered around 925,000 in 1968 if the rates of growth of the first half of the sixties persisted -- a not unreasonable assumption considering that net migration from Puerto Rico accelerated in 1965-68 from the levels earlier in the decade, and that a large proportion of the migrants are likely to have settled in the city.[2/] In 1968, the Puerto Rican population represented about 12 percent of the city's total population, compared with 8 percent in 1960.

The growth of the City's Puerto Rican population during the sixties, though rapid, was slower than it had been during the fifties.

1/ Estimates of Population Characteristics, New York City, 1964-1965-1966, by Leonard S. Kogan and M. J. Wantman, Population Health Survey, Center for Social Research, Graduate Center, The City University of New York, June 1968, Table IV.

2/ The following net migration figures were furnished by the Migration Division of the Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, based on data from the San Juan office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice and Puerto Rican Planning Board (the minus sign indicates net outflow from the continental United States to Puerto Rico):

1961	-1,754
1962	10,800
1963	-5,479
1964	1,370
1965	16,678
1966	28,753
1967	26,553
1968	23,853

The migration component of the increase, two thirds during the earlier decade, was probably considerably less in the sixties, judging by the net migration figures. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of persons of Puerto Rican birth in New York City rose by 242,000; the number of Puerto Rican parentage increased by 124,000. Between 1961 and 1968, net migration from the Island to the mainland amounted to 101,000 persons, many of whom did not settle in New York, although past trends suggest that the majority did. The excess of births over deaths has thus clearly become the more important component of growth in the City's Puerto Rican population. This means that the third generation -- born of parents themselves of Puerto Rican parentage and born here -- is rapidly gaining in numbers -- but is also being "lost" as an identifiable ethnic group to surveys (such as the Urban Employment Survey or the Census) which are limited to persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. 1/ Therefore, intergenerational changes in the social and economic status of Puerto Ricans would not be ascertainable beyond the second generation.

By definition, then, Puerto Rican residents of the City's major poverty neighborhoods were of the first or second generation. The statistical importance of third-generation Puerto Ricans in New York City at any rate still lies mainly in the future. Women residents of Puerto Rican parentage who were born here and were of childbearing age in 1960 (15-44) represented only one tenth of all Puerto Rican

1/ Persons of Puerto Rican origin comprise "migrants from Puerto Rico and their children. No census data are available on third and later generations of Puerto Rican origin." U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in the United States, Final Report PC (2)-1D, page VIII.

women residents in this age group; female residents of Puerto Rican parentage who were 5-34 years old in 1960 constituted one quarter of all Puerto Rican females in this age group in 1960. The great majority of Puerto Ricans in New York City will thus be of the first and second generation for some time to come.

Females of Puerto Rican origin, by selected age groups, in New York City, 1960

	5-34	15-44
Total	194,300	163,300
Of Puerto Rican birth	143,300	147,500
Of Puerto Rican parentage.	50,900	15,800
Percent of total	26	10

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, final Report PC(2)-10. Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in the United States, page 92.

The growth of the City's Puerto Rican population seems likely to continue to be sustained in good part by continued inmigration, since the migration potential of persons of working age residing in Puerto Rico remains substantial, considering the Island's continued large supply of underutilized manpower. This supply was estimated at more than 300,000 in 1967, nearly twice as high as in 1950. 1/ More than half of all persons in this group were 16-24 years old, and it is from this group that migrants most likely recruit themselves: according to a sample survey covering the fiscal year 1966, almost two thirds of

1/ "The Employment Situation in Puerto Rico and Migratory Movements between Puerto Rico and the United States," by H.C. Barton Jr., Special Adviser for Economic Affairs, Legislature of Puerto Rico, in Summary of Proceedings: Workshop on "Employment Problems of Puerto Ricans," Center for Study of the Unemployed, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University, May 20-21, 1967, New York, New York page 39.

all migrants from Puerto Rico were 14-24 years old. 1/ The large underutilized supply of manpower partially reflects high unemployment rates: In 1969, 11 percent of the labor force in Puerto Rico was unemployed; 21 percent of young men 16-24 years old, and 16 percent of young women in this age group were jobless.

Ethnic definition and color

Whether a respondent to the Urban Employment Survey was of Puerto Rican origin was determined on the basis of answers to questions as to his place of birth, or that of either of his parents. A person was of Puerto Rican origin if (1) he was born in Puerto Rico, or (2) either or both of his parents had been born there. Although all Puerto Ricans were regarded as Spanish-Americans, not all Spanish-Americans encountered in the City's poverty areas were Puerto Ricans. If a respondent was not of Puerto Rican origin but indicated that Spanish was spoken in his parents' home when he was a child, he too was classified as Spanish-American. During the survey period, about 97,000 Spanish-Americans of working age (16 and over) resided in the City's major poverty neighborhoods, of whom close to 86,000 or nearly nine tenths were of Puerto Rican birth or parentage.

	Total	White	Negro and other races
All Spanish-Americans ..	96,800	75,300	21,500
Puerto Ricans	85,700	68,900	16,800
Percent of total	89	92	78

1/ Loc. cit. page 41.

Nearly 17,000 or 20 percent of all Puerto Ricans were of Negro or other races. The proportion of Negroes in the Puerto Rican population residing in poverty areas was far higher than that indicated by the Census of 1960 for all of New York City (4 percent). The high proportion of black Puerto Ricans in 1968-69 may well have been related to the generally high concentration of blacks who reside in these neighborhoods, but may also have been due to differences in classification methods.

Demographic characteristics

The analyses and data presented in this report refer to only a segment of the Puerto Rican population living in New York City. The total number of persons represented by this segment, including children under 16, is estimated at 150,000, between one sixth and one seventh of the City's estimated total Puerto Rican population.

The working-age population of Puerto Ricans residing in the City's poverty areas covered by the Urban Employment Survey during the July 1968-June 1969 period averaged 86,000, including 38,000 men and 48,000 women 16 and over. It tended to be considerably younger than the City's population generally. Nearly three quarters of all Puerto Ricans 16 and over were less than 45 years old, compared with only about one half for the City. (Their distribution was, however, closely in line with that of the City's total Puerto Rican population of 14 and over in 1960.)

These and similar differences in age structure reflect to some extent the heavy influx of young migrants from Puerto Rico over the past two decades, and possibly also some outmovement of older Puerto Ricans,

who either returned to the Island or moved to other, perhaps better neighborhoods.

	Puerto Ricans in poverty areas 1968-69	New York City 1969
Civilian population, 16 and over ..	85,700	5,708,000
Percent distribution	100	100
16-24	25	19
16-19	13	8
25-54	59	49
25-44	46	33
55 and over	15	32

Analysis of the marital status of Puerto Ricans residing in poverty areas suggests a significantly lower incidence of broken families than among Negroes in these areas, although the incidence was higher than among the American population as a whole. One out of every four married Puerto Rican women 20-64 lived without her husband, a ratio which compares with nearly two out of every five married Negro women and with one out of every 18 for the United States.

The 1960 Census for the New York metropolitan area shows that, then, the husband of one in every seven married Puerto Rican women 20-64 was absent. (See also Table 1).

	New York City poverty areas, 1968-69		United States March 1969
	Puerto Rican	Negro	
Married women, 20-64	29,000	72,900	42,341,000
Percent with husband absent.	26	38	6

Table 1. Marital status of Puerto Ricans and Negroes, 20-64, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and United States, 1969

Marital status	Poverty areas: Puerto Rican	Poverty areas: Negro	United States
Men			
Total, all persons	30,400	75,700	49,533,000
Percent distribution	100	100	100
Single (never married)	19	23	15
Married, spouse present	69	56	78
Married, spouse absent	7	16	3
Widowed or divorced	4	5	4
Women			
Total, all persons	39,200	116,700	53,666,000
Percent distribution	100	100	100
Single (never married)	13	19	11
Married, spouse present	55	39	74
Married, spouse absent	19	24	5
Widowed or divorced	13	18	10

One third of all Puerto Rican family heads were women, a proportion that was lower than that for Negroes (two fifths), yet the severity of social and economic problems may have been greater for Puerto Rican than for Negro women in this group. This probability is suggested

	New York City poverty areas, 1968-69: Puerto Rican	New York City poverty areas, 1968-69: Negro	United States March 1969
All heads of families with 2 or more persons	34,400	85,600	50,416,000
Female	10,900	35,300	5,381,000
Percent of total	32	41	11

by the substantial differences in the size of families, as well as in labor force participation rates and family income, discussed in subsequent sections.

Puerto Rican families tended to be larger than families in the City generally or Negro families residing in poverty neighborhoods. One third of all Puerto Rican families counted five or more members, as against less than a fourth of all Negro families, and one sixth of all of the City's families. Only about one fifth of all Puerto Rican families had two members -- half the proportion for Negroes or for the City at large (see Table 2). Data on the age of family members are not available, but it is not unlikely that low labor force participation rates among Puerto Rican women partially stem from greater family responsibilities involving small children.

The number of unrelated Puerto Rican individuals -- persons unattached to families and either living in households of their own or with nonrelatives -- constituted 13 percent of the Puerto Rican population 16 and over in poverty areas -- a level about in line with the national figure. This relatively small proportion strikingly contrasted with that for Negroes, among whom unrelated individuals made up more than one fourth of the working-age population.

Unrelated individuals as percent of population

	Percent
Major New York City poverty areas	
Puerto Rican	13
Negro	26
United States	7

Table 2. Size of families, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1968

Size of family	Poverty areas		New York City 1/
	Puerto Rican	Negro	
All families	34,600	86,000	2,121,000
Percent distribution ..	100	100	100
2 persons	22	41	41
3 persons	25	21	23
4 persons	20	16	18
5 persons	17	10	9
6 or more persons	17	12	8

1/ Source: Center for New York City Affairs of the New School for Social Research, City Almanac, February 1970. Based on special tabulations from the March 1969 Current Population Survey obtained from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Labor force

The labor force of Puerto Rican persons residing in the City's major poverty areas totaled approximately 44,000 men and women, or 51 percent of the Puerto Rican population 16 and over. About 39,000 men and women were employed, and more then 4,000, or nearly 10 percent of the labor force, were unemployed. The jobless rate was almost three times as high as that for New York City as a whole during the survey period (see Table 3).

The age structure of the Puerto Rican labor force was weighted towards the younger age groups even more than that of the total Puerto Rican population 16 and over. Three quarters of all Puerto Rican workers were under 45, reflected in part in the higher participation rates for Puerto Rican men.

Table 3. Employment status of persons, 16 and over, by sex, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969

Employment status	Poverty area: Puerto Rican	New York City
Both sexes, 16 and over		
Civilian noninstitutional population ..	85,700	5,708,000
Labor force	43,600	3,255,000
Participation rate	50.9	57.0
Employed	39,400	3,139,000
Unemployed	4,200	117,000
Unemployment rate	9.6	3.6
Not in the labor force	42,100	2,453,000
Men		
Civilian noninstitutional population ..	38,000	2,579,000
Labor force	29,800	1,935,000
Participation rate	78.4	75.0
Employed	27,100	1,867,000
Unemployed	2,700	68,000
Unemployment rate	9.1	3.5
Not in the labor force	8,200	645,000
Women		
Civilian noninstitutional population ..	47,700	3,129,000
Labor force	13,800	1,321,000
Participation rate	28.9	42.2
Employed	12,300	1,272,000
Unemployed	1,500	49,000
Unemployment rate	10.9	3.7
Not in the labor force	33,900	1,808,000

Note: Sampling variability may be relatively large in cases where the numbers are small, particularly for estimates under 5,000 for the major New York City poverty areas (and 50,000 for New York City). Small differences between estimates as well as small estimates should be interpreted with caution. Figures may not add up because of rounding.

Table 4. Civilian labor force, by age and sex, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969

Age and sex	Poverty area: Puerto Rican	New York City
Total, all persons	43,600	3,255,000
Men		
Total, all persons	29,800	1,935,000
Percent distribution	100	100
16-24	20	14
16-19	9	4
25-54	72	63
25-44	57	43
55 and over	7	23
55-64	6	17
65 and over	1	6
Women		
Total, all persons	13,800	1,321,000
Percent distribution	100	100
16-24	32	22
16-19	14	7
25-54	58	57
25-44	41	36
55 and over	11	21
55-64	10	17
65 and over	1	4

The labor force participation of Puerto Rican men was roughly in line with local levels; it tended to run above that of Negro men residing in poverty areas. Male Puerto Rican youths 16-19 were somewhat more likely than their age mates in the City generally to be working or looking for work. The rate for adult men 25-44, 96 percent, was virtually the same as for all of the City's men in this age group. Older Puerto Rican men, however, had significantly lower labor force participation rates than their age mates citywide (see Table 5).

Table 5. Labor force participation rates 1/
Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas,
July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969

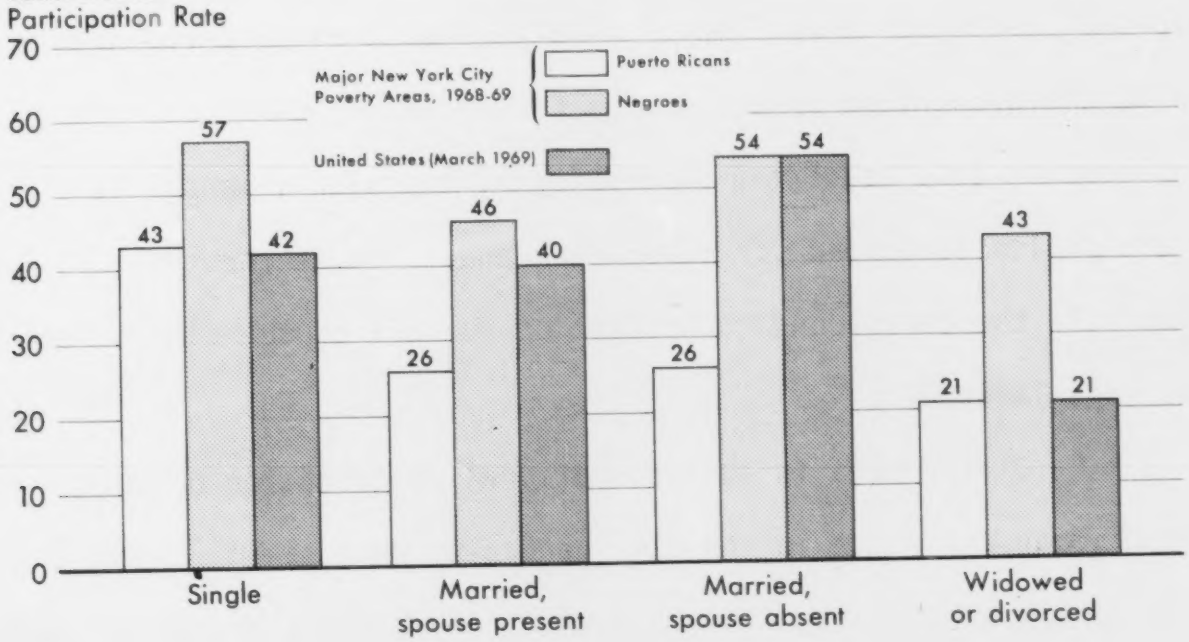
Age and sex	Poverty area: Puerto Rican	New York City
Total, all persons ...	51	57
Men		
Total, all persons ...	78	75
16-19	47	36
20-24	2/	75
25-44	96	94
45-54	83	92
55 and over	40	55
Women		
Total, all persons ...	29	42
16-19	36	38
20-24	38	60
25-44	26	48
45-54	39	55
55 and over	20	26

1/ Percent of civilian noninstitutional population, 16 and over, in the labor force.
2/ Rate not shown where base is less than 5,000.

Particular interest attaches to the relatively low participation rates of Puerto Rican women -- 29 percent. Among teenage girls, the rate of 36 percent compared closely with that of all of the City's girls. But for adult women the rate ran sharply lower. For Puerto Rican women 25-44 it was 26 percent, compared with 48 percent for the City's women generally. The low participation rate of Puerto Rican women may in part have been related to larger size of family, but even among single Puerto Rican women, participation rates (43 percent) tended to run considerably lower than among Negro women in the City's poverty areas (57 percent), or nationally (51 percent) (see Chart 1).

Chart I

Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, by Marital Status



Low labor force participation probably accounted to some extent for the relatively low average income of Puerto Rican families. Less than one third of all wives in Puerto Rican husband/wife families were in the labor force, compared with well over half of all wives in Negro husband/wife families in New York's poverty areas, and two fifths for all of the country's husband/wife families.

It is noteworthy that the 1960 Census for New York City shows a participation rate of 38 percent for Puerto Rican women 14 and over; the higher rate may have reflected greater job opportunities at the time in nondurable manufacturing for semiskilled women workers with a poor educational background. These opportunities have tended to contract and this may to some extent have accounted for the low rates in the City's poverty areas in 1968-69.

Occupational patterns

Most Puerto Rican workers dwelling in the City's poverty neighborhoods held low-status, low-skill jobs. Two thirds of the men did semiskilled or unskilled blue-collar and service work, nearly twice the proportion of all of the City's male jobholders. Those employed in jobs requiring professional, technical, managerial or craft skills accounted for fewer than one fifth of the total -- less than half the corresponding proportion for all of the City's employed men (see Table 6).

Differences in the occupational distribution between Puerto Rican women and women in the City generally were similarly sharp. Half of all of the City's women workers performed clerical or sales work, but only one fourth of all Puerto Rican women did. Only one third of the City's women workers held semiskilled or unskilled blue-collar or service jobs, as against two thirds of the Puerto Rican women.

The occupational distribution of Puerto Rican men residing in the City's poverty areas in 1968-69 was not markedly different from that of all of the City's Puerto Rican men in 1960. The proportions of professional, technical, managerial, and craft workers were virtually the same. The proportion of semiskilled blue-collar workers was somewhat lower, while that of clerical and service workers was a little higher. Among employed Puerto Rican women who lived in poverty areas in 1968-69, white-collar jobs were of greater relative importance than they had been for all of the City's employed Puerto Rican women in 1960. Nevertheless, the general shift to white-collar work may have made it more difficult for Puerto Rican women to obtain jobs, consider-

Table 6. Occupational distribution of employed workers, by level of skill and knowledge, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969

Occupation by sex	Poverty area: Puerto Rican	New York City
Number of workers, 16 and over	39,400	3,139,000
Men		
Number of workers	27,100	1,867,000
Percent distribution	100	100
Professional and technical workers	2	15
Managers, proprietors, officials	4	14
Skilled blue-collar workers	13	17
Subtotal	19	46
Clerical and sales workers	16	21
Semiskilled blue-collar workers and laborers	42	23
Service workers	22	11
Subtotal	80	55
Women		
Number of workers	12,300	1,272,000
Percent distribution	100	100
Professional and technical workers	5	14
Managers, proprietors, and officials	3	5
Skilled blue-collar workers	3	1
Subtotal	11	20
Clerical and sales workers	28	50
Semiskilled blue-collar workers and laborers	50	17
Service workers	11	15
Subtotal	89	82

Table 7. Occupational distribution of workers born in Puerto Rico, and of Puerto Rican parentage, by level of skill and knowledge, New York City, 1960

Occupation by sex	Born in Puerto Rico	Puerto Rican parentage
Number of workers, 14 and over	179,513	14,989
Men		
Number of workers	118,288	9,096
Percent distribution	100	100
Professional and technical workers ..	2	7
Managers, proprietors, officials	4	4
Skilled blue-collar workers	11	27
Subtotal	17	27
Clerical and sales workers	11	24
Semiskilled blue-collar workers and laborers	51	35
Service workers	21	13
Subtotal	83	72
Women		
Number of workers	61,225	5,893
Percent distribution	100	100
Professional and technical workers ..	3	6
Managers, proprietors, officials	1	2
Skilled blue-collar workers	2	2
Subtotal	6	10
Clerical and sales workers	12	56
Semiskilled blue-collar workers and laborers	75	25
Service workers	8	9
Subtotal	95	90

ing their poor educational background -- and may have contributed to lowering their labor force participation rate.

It is likely that the occupational distribution among workers of Puerto Rican parentage and born here is more favorable than among workers of Puerto Rican birth(data on this subject were not collected in the Urban Employment Survey). This is suggested by the 1960 Census, which showed that persons of Puerto Rican parentage were more likely than those born in Puerto Rico to hold jobs requiring higher levels of education or skill. But this more favorable occupational distribution was limited to only about 8 percent of all Puerto Rican workers in New York City in 1960 -- i.e., those who were born in the continental United States (see Table 7). (The proportion of Puerto Ricans of working age residing in poverty areas in 1968-69 who had been born here was 14 percent during the survey period).

Employment by industry

An outstanding characteristic of the industry distribution of Puerto Rican workers from the City's poverty neighborhoods was their concentration in manufacturing: two out of every five of these workers held a factory job. No strictly comparable figures on the industry distribution of all of the City's workers are available, but payroll data on wage and salary employees may serve as a yardstick[1/]. These

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1/ Payroll data include multiple jobholders, as well as nonresident jobholders (i.e., commuters). These and other differences in coverage limit the comparability of payroll data and household data. For a detailed discussion of these differences, see "Comparing employment estimates from household and payroll surveys," by Gloria P. Green, Monthly Labor Review, December 1969.

data show that manufacturing employment in New York City declined 13 percent between 1959 and 1969, and that in the latter year, little more than one in every five of the City's wage and salary employees worked in manufacturing. By this yardstick, then, a disproportionately large number of Puerto Ricans held jobs in a declining sector of the City's economy.

Industry	Percent distribution	
	Puerto Ricans poverty areas, 1968-69	All workers New York City, 1969
Manufacturing	42	22
Services	19	20
Trade	18	20
Government	9	14
Finance, insurance, real estate	6	12
Transportation and public utilities	5	9
Contract construction and mining	1	4

Among possible reasons why so relatively large a number of Puerto Ricans gravitated towards factory work are language difficulties which are not as great a barrier in this type of work as they might be, for example, in the white-collar and some service fields. Furthermore, manufacturing accounts for a large proportion of semiskilled jobs. (In 1960, more than a third of all male semiskilled workers residing in New York City and nearly three fifths of their female counterparts worked in factories.) Inasmuch as most Puerto Ricans from poverty neighborhoods had relatively poor educational attainment, they might be expected to look to manufacturing as a major source of employment.

These workers were somewhat less concentrated in manufacturing than were all of the City's Puerto Rican workers in 1960, when nearly

three fifths held factory jobs. Even by the end of the sixties Puerto Ricans did not share fully in jobs in the City's growing white-collar industries.

One such industry has been government where payrolls rose 35 percent over the 1959-69 decade. One out of every seven of the City's wage and salary employees held a government job in 1969, but only one out of every eleven Puerto Ricans from poverty areas did so during the survey period. Only 6 percent of Puerto Rican workers from poverty areas were employed in finance, insurance, and real estate, which account for about 12 percent of the City's payroll jobs.

Part-time and full-time status of the labor force

At the time of the interview, 6 percent of the Puerto Rican labor force reported itself as holding, or looking for, part-time jobs -- less than half the comparable proportion for the United States. The small relative size of the Puerto Rican part-time labor force may have reflected either a shortage of suitable and accessible part-time employment or a preference for full-time work, or perhaps both; the available data do not permit clarification of this issue.

Of all young workers 16-24, who are normally the most likely candidates for part-time work, only 13 percent, or less than half the national proportion, were in the part-time labor force. Among adult women workers 25-54 years old, who also have normally a high propensity to work in or seek part-time jobs, only about one out of every ten did so, compared with one out of every five nationally.

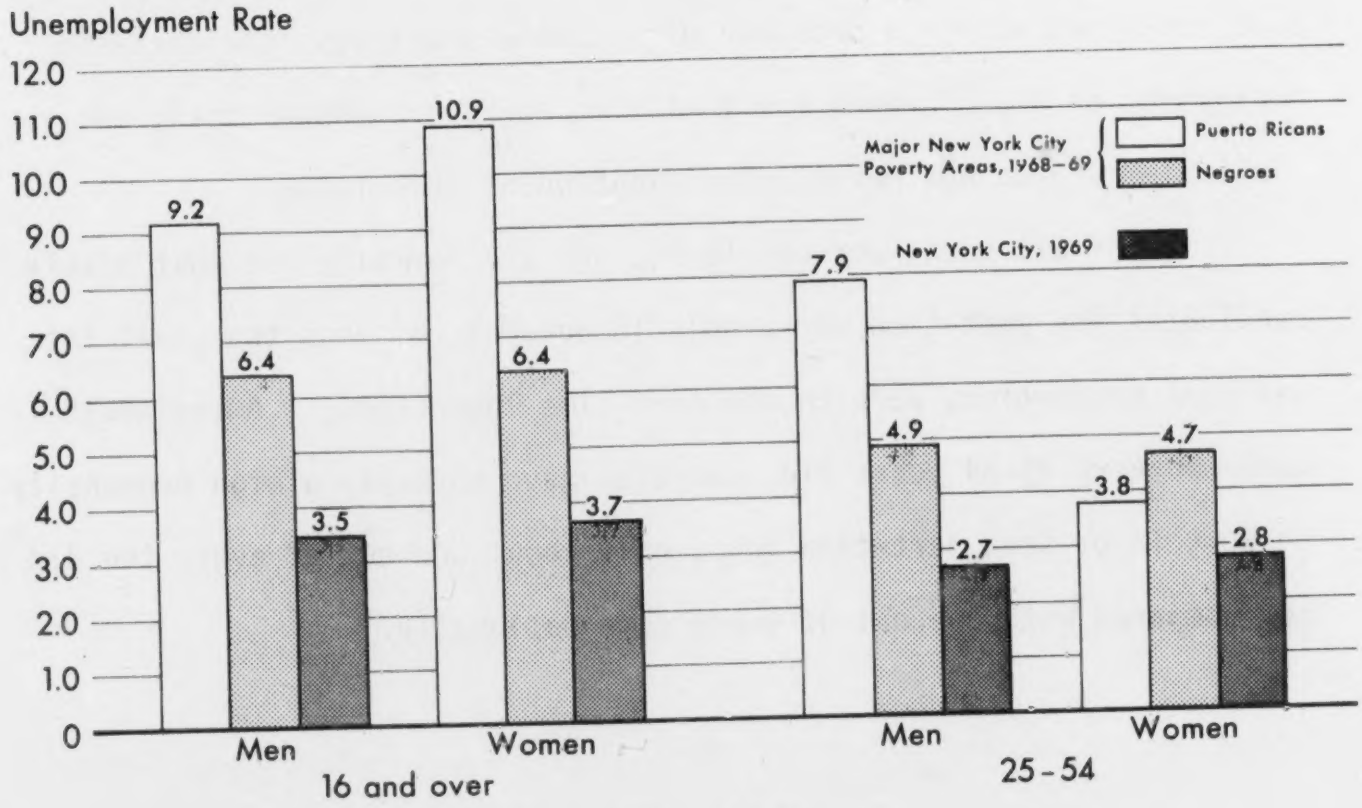
Percent of part-time workers in civilian labor force	Puerto Ricans in poverty areas 1968-69	United States 1969
Men, 16 and over	4	14
16-24	13	26
Women, 16 and over	11	23
16-24	11	27

Unemployment

The unemployment rate of the Puerto Rican labor force residing in major New York City poverty neighborhoods, at 9.6 percent during the survey year, was more than 2½ times higher than for the City's workers generally in 1969 (3.6 percent), and half again as high as for Negroes in these neighborhoods (6.5 percent) (see Chart II).

Chart II

Unemployment Rates by Age



Whereas normally the jobless rate for women is higher than for men, among Puerto Rican workers the pattern was reversed. Adult men 25-54 had a rate of nearly 8 percent, compared with less than 4 percent for women in this age group. A possible explanation for this unusual pattern is that Puerto Rican men in their prime, no matter what their employment status, are as firmly attached to the labor force as men in their prime generally, while Puerto Rican women tend more readily than women generally to withdraw from the labor force upon being laid off, or to re-enter it only when recalled or when accepting a new job. The short average duration of unemployment among these women in part reflects these unusual patterns of labor force entry and exit, and makes for low jobless rates.

Table 8. Unemployment rates by occupation of last job, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969

Occupation	Poverty area: Puerto Rican	New York City
Total	9.6	3.6
White-collar workers	6.2	2.2
Professional and technical workers	1/	2.5
Managers, proprietors, officials	1/	2.3
Clerical workers	6.1	2.4
Sales workers	1/	2.3
Blue-collar workers	10.5	4.9
Craftsmen and foremen	1/	2.6
Semiskilled workers	12.3	5.7
Unskilled workers	1/	7.8
Service workers	6.8	3.8

1/ Rate not shown where labor force is less than 5,000.

Puerto Rican workers were heavily represented in occupations such as semiskilled and service work where unemployment rates tend to run above average (see Table 8). For example, the unemployment for semiskilled workers in New York City in 1969, 5.7 percent, was more than half again as high as the overall rate.

Furthermore, Puerto Ricans were frequently attached to industries with pronounced seasonal fluctuations in employment. Thus, in the apparel industry in New York City, employment moved by 8 percent between the months of high and low employment in 1968, and in miscellaneous manufactures by 19 percent. In the City's industries as a whole, seasonal movements barely exceeded 3 percent during 1968.

Selected New York City industries, 1969

	Percent change in employment between high and low month
All industries	3.1
Nondurables	6.4
Apparel	7.7
Miscellaneous manufactures ...	19.4

Seasonality of employment in nondurable industries would thus be a factor in the high unemployment among Puerto Rican workers from poverty areas, a large proportion of whom were attached in these industries (see also Table 9).

Work experience and extent of unemployment

The disadvantaged economic status of Puerto Ricans residing in the City's poverty areas was closely related to the following work-experience characteristics:

Table 9. Seasonal factors for employment in selected nonfarm industries, New York City, 1969

Month	All nonfarm industries	Nondurables	Apparel 1/	Miscellaneous manufactures 2/
January	.983 L	.963 L	.956	.907 L
February ...	.984	.992	1.016	.934
March	.994	1.004	1.026	.952
April	.998	.987	.986	.969
May	1.001	.995	.994	.996
June	1.010	1.005	.999	1.016
July	.999	.970	.949 L	.967
August	1.001	1.018	1.020	1.042
September ..	1.001	1.025 H	1.030 H	1.063
October	1.007	1.025	1.028	1.083 H
November ...	1.010	1.023	1.019	1.076
December ...	1.013 H	.990	.975	.996

1/ SIC group No. 23. Includes other finished textiles.
2/ SIC group No. 39. Includes jewelry and silverware, musical instruments, toys and sporting goods, pens, pencils and other office and artists' materials, notions, and other miscellaneous manufactures.
L - low month; H - high month.

(1) The proportion of the working-age population with work experience during the year preceding the interview was lower than that of Negroes in these areas or in the United States generally.

(2) The number of voluntary part-time workers among women and teenagers (who frequently make an important contribution to family income) was comparatively small.

(3) The proportion of persons who experienced unemployment at some time during the year tended to run above average.

About 46,000 Puerto Ricans 16 and over residing in the City's poverty areas held a job at some time during the year prior to the interview. That number represented 53 percent of the Puerto Rican population in these areas -- a proportion which was markedly lower than

Table 10. Persons with work experience as percent of civilian population, by selected age groups, Puerto Ricans and Negroes, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and United States, 1968 1/

Age and sex	Poverty areas		United States
	Puerto Rican	Negro	
Total, 16 and over	53	64	68
Both sexes, 16-19 ...	53	60	67
Men, 20 and over	83	80	87
25-54	91	88	97
55 and over	42	60	63
Women, 20 and over ..	31	54	51
25-54	31	62	58
55 and over	21	38	22

1/ Persons who were employed at some time during the year preceding the interview in major New York City poverty areas, and during 1968 for the United States.

that for all persons 16 and over in the United States who reported work experience in 1968 (68 percent). It was also lower than that of Negroes from the City's poverty areas (64 percent) (see Table 10).

The smaller relative number of Puerto Ricans with work experience mainly reflected the low proportion of adult women (20 and over) who had worked at some time in the course of the pre-interview year. Less than a third of these women had done so, compared with more than one half of all adult women nationally or of Negro women in the City's poverty areas. Puerto Rican youths 16-19 also were less likely than their counterparts nationally to have been exposed to the world of work.

Among Puerto Rican men, there was a tendency for the proportion with work experience to decline rapidly after age 45. Only

about four fifths of all Puerto Rican men 45-54 had work experience during the pre-interview year, and only two fifths of those 55 and over. These proportions compared quite unfavorably with those for men in these age groups nationally, and were also out of line with those for Negro men in the City's poverty areas.

Like the majority of the Nation's work force, the majority of Puerto Ricans who reported work experience had held full-time, year-round jobs during the 12 months preceding the interview. In contrast, only a small proportion of Puerto Ricans worked at part-time jobs. Only one out of every 12 Puerto Rican women with work experience had worked part-time, less than a third the comparable proportion of women nationally. Insofar as Puerto Rican youths 16-19 had work experience, they were less likely to have held part-time jobs than their age mates nationally, and a somewhat larger proportion of them were employed part of the year at full-time jobs (see Table 11).

Unemployment was experienced at some time during the 12 months preceding the interview by nearly one out of every five of all Puerto Ricans who had been working or looking for work, compared with one in eight of all workers nationally during 1968. As might be expected, the proportion of Puerto Rican women and teenagers who had experienced unemployment was higher than that of men but it ran considerably above the corresponding national averages as well. Moreover, the unemployment experience of Puerto Rican women tended to be worse than that of Negro women residing in the City's poverty areas.

Table 11. Work experience, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and United States, 1968

Work experience	Total, 16 and over	Both sexes, 16-19	Men, 20 and over	Women, 20 and over
Poverty area - Puerto Rican				
Total, working or looking 1/.	47,300	6,300	27,200	13,800
Percent distribution	100	100	100	100
Usually worked full time .	89	63	96	87
50-52 weeks	63	17	79	52
Less than 50 weeks	26	46	17	35
Usually worked part time .	8	30	3	8
Did not find job	4	6	2	2
United States				
Total, working or looking 1/.	91,480,000	9,826,000	48,268,000	33,386,000
Percent distribution	100	100	100	100
Usually worked full time .	80	42	93	72
50-52 weeks	57	8	74	45
Less than 50 weeks	23	34	19	27
Usually worked part time .	19	53	6	26
Did not find job	1	4	2/	2

1/ Employed or unemployed at some time during the year preceding the interview for Puerto Ricans, and in calendar-year 1968 for the United States.
2/ Less than 0.5 percent.

Unemployment experience

Percent of total who worked or looked	Major New York City poverty areas, 1968-69		United States 1968
	Puerto Rican	Negro	
Total, 16 and over	18	15	12
Both sexes, 16-19 ...	33	36	24
Men, 20 and over	13	13	10
Women, 20 and over ..	21	13	12

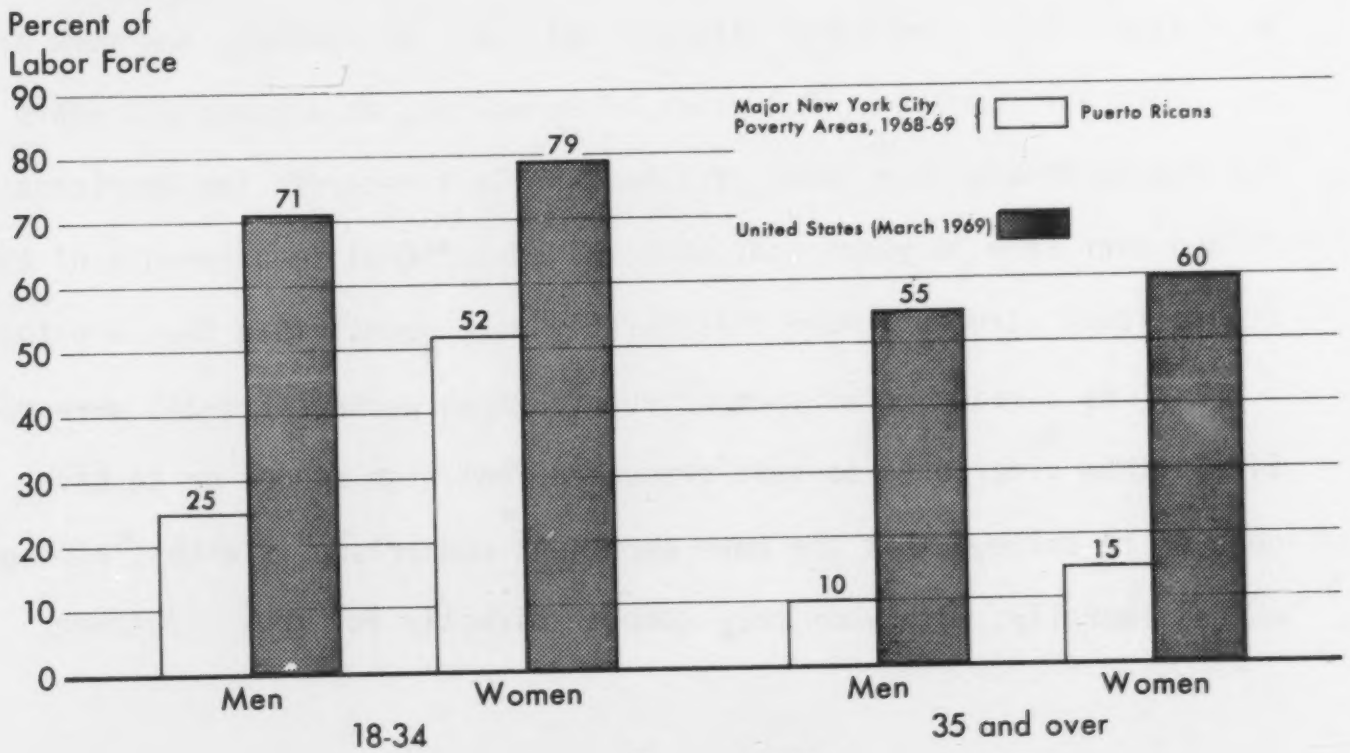
Educational attainment

Inadequate education handicapped Puerto Rican workers in the competition for jobs, and was prominently associated with their unfavorable occupational distribution and high unemployment.

Measured against what many employers regard as the minimal standard of job qualification -- graduation from high school -- Puerto Rican workers were seriously underqualified: four out of every five Puerto Rican men in the labor force 18 and over residing in the City's poverty areas, and three out of every four Puerto Rican women, reported less than a full high school education. While the younger generation of Puerto Ricans -- workers under 35 -- had more schooling than the older, the level of education which it had in fact attained was below that of its age mates generally (see chart III). Workers of Puerto

Chart III

Percent of Labor Force with 4 Years of High School or More



Rican parentage born in the continental United States probably received more schooling than workers born on the Island, judging by 1960 Census patterns (the Urban Employment Survey did not differentiate between the two groups). But, as already noted, only a small minority of Puerto Ricans of working age who live in poverty areas were born on the mainland.

Puerto Rican workers must compete in a labor market dominated by men and women who are more than three times as likely to have completed high school or to have gone beyond. Data on educational attainment of New York City area residents 25 and over (when the formal process of education has usually been completed) demonstrate that a wide educational gap prevails in the local labor market (see Table 12).

According to these data, over one half of the New York area's residents 25 and over had completed high school and one fifth had gone to college or graduate school. In contrast, only about one seventh of all poverty-area Puerto Ricans 25 and over had finished high school; an insignificant number had attended college. On average, New York area residents had completed 12.1 years of schooling, as against 8.3 years for Puerto Ricans -- a level of schooling last recorded for Americans 25 and over some 30 years ago, when the educational requirements of the occupational structure were considerably more modest than they are today.

As already noted, younger Puerto Rican workers (18-34) were more likely than older ones to have graduated from high school or to have gone on to college, but the more pertinent comparison is with their age mates generally, with whom they compete directly for jobs. Between

Table 12. Educational attainment of the population 25 and over, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York metropolitan area, 1967

Education attainment	Poverty area		New York metropolitan area
	Puerto Rican		Total
	Men	Women	
Total, all persons, 25 and over	28,400	35,800	6,600,000
Percent distribution	100	100	100
No school	6	11	1/
Elementary school, 8 years or less	55	53	29
High school, 1-3 years	26	20	17
4 years	11	14	32
College, 1-3 years	2	1	9
4 years or more	2/	1	12
Median years of school completed	8.5	8.2	12.1

1/ Persons with no schooling are included in totals for elementary schooling.
2/ Less than 0.5 percent.

these two younger groups, the educational gap remained wide, as indicated by years of school completed, which averaged 10.6 for 18-34 year old Puerto Rican workers, and 12.6 for workers in this age group nationally.

Some indication of the chances for advancement of employed Puerto Rican workers is given when median years of school completed are grouped by occupation and compared with national averages. For many occupational groups, the number of Puerto Rican workers was too small to yield significant comparisons, but the statistically significant data are suggestive. Puerto Ricans employed as semiskilled workers, for example, had on average less than 9 years of schooling, compared with about 11

years for such workers nationally. Puerto Rican men who held jobs as service workers had little more than 8 years of schooling, as against 11.6 years for service workers generally. Lack of adequate education -- when "adequate" is defined in terms of the prevailing national norm -- probably inhibits occupational mobility among Puerto Rican workers, confining them to low-status jobs with little promise of upward mobility.

Median years of school completed, by selected occupation

	Puerto Ricans New York City poverty areas, 1968-69		United States March 1968	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
All employed workers	8.9	9.9	12.3	12.4
White-collar workers	10.8	1/	n.a.	n.a.
Clerical workers	1/	1/	12.6	12.6
Sales workers	1/	1/	12.8	12.3
Blue-collar workers	8.8	8.6	n.a.	n.a.
Semiskilled workers	8.7	8.6	11.1	10.6
Service workers	8.3	8.7	11.6	11.6

1/ Median not shown where base is less than 5,000.
n.a. - Not available.

Low educational attainment also increased the probability of Puerto Rican workers being unemployed. In general, unemployment rates of workers 18 and over are inversely related to their educational attainment. However, even at each given level of educational attainment, Puerto Rican workers had a higher jobless rate than workers nationally. Their rate also tended to be higher than that of Negro workers in the City's poverty areas. Thus, while nationally 3.5 percent of the male labor force 18 and over with 8 years of elementary school or less was unemployed in 1969, 8.9 percent of the comparable group of Puerto Rican workers was jobless during the survey period (see Table 13).

Table 13. Unemployment rates by educational attainment of the civilian labor force, 18 years and over, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and United States, March 1969

Educational attainment	Poverty area: Puerto Rican: Men	Poverty area: Puerto Rican: Women	United States: Men	United States: Women
Total	8.0	7.8	2.6	4.0
Elementary school 1/	8.9	5.6	3.5	4.8
1-7 years	8.8	2/	3.5	4.3
8 years	8.5	2/	3.3	4.6
High school, 1-4 years	7.6	8.6	2.8	4.5
1-3 years	10.0	2/	4.2	3.0
4 years or more	3.8	2/	1.8	3.3

1/ Includes persons with no schooling.
2/ Rate not shown where labor force is less than 5,000.

The difference in unemployment rates at each level of educational attainment reflects in part the less favorable occupational and industry distribution of Puerto Rican workers. It probably also stems from language barriers, and perhaps from discrimination which these workers encounter in the labor market.

Training programs completed

About one in every eight Puerto Ricans in the labor force residing in the City's major poverty areas had completed one or more training programs at some time during his life -- mainly in school or in the Armed Forces. Unemployment among workers who had completed such programs tended to be lower than the poverty-area average, and hourly earnings higher.

The occupational distribution of Puerto Ricans who completed training programs suggests some job benefits from training -- it

was more favorable than that of employed Puerto Rican workers in general. For example, nearly 30 percent of all training program graduates were in skilled trades -- roughly three times the proportion of Puerto Ricans who were actually working in such trades during the survey period. Thus, training programs appear likely to result in upgrading the occupations of many of those who complete them.

Occupation	Completed training program 1/	All employed workers
Total, all persons	9,600	39,400
Percent distribution	100	100
White-collar workers	43	28
Clerical and sales workers.	30	20
Other white-collar workers.	13	7
Blue-collar workers	44	54
Skilled workers	29	10
Semiskilled workers	16	40
Unskilled workers	-	5
Service workers	13	19

1/ Includes persons who are unemployed or currently not in the labor force.

The upgrading effect of training programs may be inferred from the higher hourly wages which workers who graduated from them reported. These workers averaged $2.46 per hour during the survey period, compared with median hourly earnings of $2.08 for all Puerto Rican workers in the City's major poverty areas.

The survey suggests that workers who had completed a training program were less likely to experience unemployment than workers who had not. The data are not conclusive on this point because of the small size of the Puerto Rican labor force which had graduated from such programs.

Employment status	Completed training programs		Did not complete training programs	
	Puerto Ricans	Negroes	Puerto Ricans	Negroes
Civilian labor force ..	5,800	28,200	37,800	115,900
Employed	5,500	26,600	33,900	108,300
Unemployed	300	1,500	3,900	7,800
Unemployment rate ..	5.2	5.3	10.3	6.7

Migration status

The great majority of Puerto Ricans of working age residing in the City's poverty areas were inmigrants. Only about one seventh was born in the City -- a small proportion, but still about twice as large as that indicated by the 1960 Census for New York City's total Puerto Rican population 14 and over. Most Puerto Ricans had lived here at least five years at the time of the interview -- but fewer than two out of every five had lived here at age 16 (see Table 14).

Younger men and women were more likely than older ones to have lived in the City at age 16. Three out of every four persons 16-24 years old had resided here at age 16, but only a minority of men and women 25 and over -- one fifth -- had lived here at age 16, with the proportion declining with advancing age.

The migration data imply that a large number of Puerto Ricans had been reared, and received part or all of their education on the Island. Yet, they evidently shared certain social characteristics with Island residents generally to only a limited extent. For example, years of schooling completed by men 25 and over who lived in Puerto Rico in 1960 averaged 4.8; for Puerto Rican men 35 and over who resided in the City's poverty areas 8-9 years later, they averaged 8.1. The proportion of younger Puerto Ricans in poverty areas able to speak

Table 14. Puerto Ricans by where they lived at age 16, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969

Residence at age 16	Total	16-24	25-44	45 and over
Total, all persons	85,700	21,400	39,700	24,500
Men				
Total, all persons	38,000	9,500	17,700	10,700
Percent distribution	100	100	100	100
In New York City	35	75	27	8
In large or medium urban area 1/	26	8	29	39
In small city 2/	30	16	32	42
In rural area 3/	9	1	13	12
Women				
Total, all persons	47,700	11,900	22,000	13,800
Percent distribution	100	100	100	100
In New York City	37	77	32	9
In large or medium urban area 1/	22	5	24	34
In small city 2/	33	17	35	46
In rural area 3/	8	1	9	10

1/ Cities with 50,000 or more inhabitants or large-city suburbs. Excludes New York City.
2/ Cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants.
3/ Open country or farm.

English is not reported by the Urban Employment Survey, but was probably considerably larger than that reported for persons 10 years old and over who resided in Puerto Rico in 1960 -- 38 percent. That proportion was twice as high as in 1930, denoting a clear uptrend in the number and proportion of persons in Puerto Rico with a knowledge of English. For younger migrants, then, language would appear to be a less formidable barrier to employment than for the older ones.

Table 15. Puerto Ricans by where they were born, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969

Residence when born	Total	16-24	25-44	45 and over
Total, all persons	85,700	21,400	39,700	24,500
Men				
Total, all persons	38,000	9,500	17,700	10,700
Percent distribution	100	100	100	100
In New York City	16	43	9	5
In large or medium urban area 1/	31	23	35	36
In small city 2/	40	32	42	49
In rural area 3/	11	2	14	11
Women				
Total, all persons	47,700	11,900	22,000	13,800
Percent distribution	100	100	100	100
In New York City	12	30	8	3
In large or medium urban area 1/	32	21	35	36
In small city 2/	47	45	45	50
In rural area 3/	9	4	11	10

1/ Cities with 50,000 or more inhabitants or large-city suburbs. Excludes New York City.
2/ Cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants.
3/ Open country or farm.

Nearly half of all Puerto Ricans of working age residing in the City's poverty areas were born in urban centers with populations of 50,000 or more. In addition to those who were born in New York, about one third were born in larger urban areas outside the continental United States. Most of the rest were born in cities or places with less than 50,000 inhabitants; only a small proportion were born on the open country or on farms (see Table 15).

The labor force status of Puerto Ricans did not vary as between those who had resided in the City at age 16 and those who had not. However, the unemployment rate was sharply higher among those who had lived here at age 16, probably reflecting the greater youthfulness of this group.

Employment status	Proportion who did not live in New York City at age 16
Total population	65
Civilian labor force	64
Employed	67
Unemployed	47
Not in labor force	66

Nonparticipation in the labor force

Nonparticipation in the labor force involved a somewhat higher percentage of Puerto Ricans of working age residing in the City's poverty areas than of Negroes residing there or of the population in New York City generally.

The difference arose almost entirely from the larger proportion of Puerto Rican women who did not work or look for work because of household responsibilities -- nearly three fifths, as compared with less than one half of all of the women in the City (see Table 16). In part, Puerto Rican women's higher nonparticipation probably reflected the larger size of their families, and the relatively smaller number of unrelated individuals among them. In addition, only a small minority of Puerto Rican homemakers who were not in the labor force stated that they would take a job if their household duties could be reconciled with holding one.

Table 16. Reasons for nonparticipation in the labor force, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1969

Reasons	Total		16-24		25-54		55 and over	
	Poverty areas: Puerto Ricans	New York City	Poverty areas: Puerto Ricans	New York City	Poverty areas: Puerto Ricans	New York City	Poverty areas: Puerto Ricans	New York City
Total population 1/	38,000	2,579,000	9,500	475,000	23,200	1,308,000	5,300	796,000
Percent distribution.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	78	75	63	57	93	94	40	55
Not in labor force ..	22	25	37	43	7	6	60	45
Keeping house	1	2/	2/	1/	2/	1/	4	1
Attending school .	7	7	28	35	1	1	2/	0
Unable to work ...	6	3	1	1	4	2	25	6
Other reasons 3/ .	8	14	7	7	2	3	32	38
Women								
Total population 1/	47,700	3,129,000	11,900	585,000	28,000	1,498,000	7,500	1,046,000
Percent distribution.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	29	42	36	51	28	50	20	26
Not in labor force ..	71	58	64	49	72	50	80	74
Keeping house	57	49	34	22	67	48	56	66
Attending school .	6	4	23	22	1	2/	0	0
Unable to work ...	4	2	2	1	2	1	16	3
Other reasons 3/ .	4	3	6	4	2	1	8	5

1/ Civilian noninstitutional population.
2/ Less than 0.5 percent.
3/ Includes retirement.

The proportion of Puerto Rican men not in the labor force, 22 percent of the population, tended to be somewhat less than that for the City generally (25 percent). To some extent, the lower non-participation of Puerto Rican men was related to their lower age composition, which made for relatively fewer men of (or near) retirement age. However, Puerto Rican men 55 and over were more likely than their counterparts among poverty-area Negroes or in the City at large to be out of the labor force. Long-term illness and disability was reported by 25 percent of these men, compared with 11 percent for Negroes and 6 percent for all of the City's men 55 and over.

Puerto Rican boys 16-19 were less likely to be nonparticipants than their age mates citywide. Little more than half of the former were not in the labor force, as against close to two thirds of the latter, possibly reflecting less likelihood of school attendance among the Puerto Rican youngsters.

Earnings

A large majority of Puerto Rican workers residing in the City's poverty neighborhoods earned less than $100 a week during the survey period. Three fifths of the adult men 20-64 and nearly all of the adult women had gross pay below that amount. Among Negroes residing in these neighborhoods, a somewhat lesser -- albeit still large -- proportion of adults earned under $100 per week -- about two fifths of the men and three fourths of the women (see Table 17). Both Puerto Rican and Negro workers were disadvantaged, however, by comparison with all of the City's workers, two thirds of whom earned more than $100 as of October 1969.

Table 17. Workers earning less than $100 per week, by selected age groups, Puerto Ricans and Negroes, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969

Age and sex	Total 1/	Number earning less than $100	Percent of total
Puerto Rican			
Total, all persons	32,400	22,900	71
Men, 16 and over ...	22,300	13,900	62
20-64	20,400	12,300	60
Women, 16 and over .	10,200	6,600	86
20-64	9,000	7,300	61
Negro			
Total, all persons	102,500	63,600	61
Men, 16 and over ...	50,800	23,800	47
20-64	45,300	19,500	43
Women, 16 and over .	51,500	39,600	77
20-64	46,100	33,700	73

1/ Total refers to persons at work who reported earnings; it excludes persons who did not report their earnings. Thirteen percent of the 37,800 Puerto Ricans at work during the week preceding the interview did not report their earnings, and neither did 18 percent of the 126,100 Negroes at work during that week.

Particular concern attaches to the relatively large number of male Puerto Rican household heads 20-64 years old, who worked full-time -- 35 hours or more -- and grossed less than $100 in weekly pay. Most of these men were breadwinners and many headed families whose relatively large size may have prevented their wives from working and thus from contributing to family income. Nearly three fifths of these

Table 18. Annual earnings of year round full time worker household heads, 20-64, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969

Earnings	Puerto Rican		Negro	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total	18,600	2,600	42,400	20,700
Percent distribution.	100	1/	100	100
$0-2,999	7	-	4	13
$3,000-3,999	16	-	10	29
$4,000-4,999	28	-	23	25
$5,000-5,999	23	-	23	18
$6,000 and over	26	-	40	15
Median annual earnings .	$4,965	-	$5,570	$4,261

1/ Percent and median not shown where base is less than 5,000.

men reported earnings below $100; two fifths earned between $75 and $99; and one fifth had earnings of less than $75. (Among Negroes, about two fifths of all male household heads working full time had weekly earnings of less than $100).

Median annual earnings of Puerto Rican men heading households and working the year round at full-time jobs fell just under $5,000 during the survey period (that of similarly situated Negro men was just under $5,600). Nearly one fourth of these Puerto Rican men had gross annual earnings of less than $4,000; another 28 percent had earnings between $4,000 and $5,000 (see Table 18).

Puerto Rican workers' low earnings reflect their low levels of skill and education, as well as their being employed in relatively low-paying industries or establishments. Hourly pay of Puerto Rican men averaged $2.23 during the survey period, and $1.85 for Puerto Rican women. The comparable figures for Negro men and women were

$2.55 and $1.92. No strictly comparable wage data for all of the City's workers are available. The $3.17 average hourly earnings of the City's manufacturing production workers in 1969 gives a rough indication of the pay lag of poverty-area residents.

Men, 16 and over, at work during week preceding interview	Puerto Ricans	Negroes
Median weekly hours worked	40.3	40.4
Median weekly earnings	$ 90	$ 103
Pay per hour	$2.23	$2.55
Women, 16 and over, at work during week preceding interview		
Median weekly hours worked	40.0	40.1
Median weekly earnings	$ 74	$ 77
Pay per hour	$1.85	$1.92

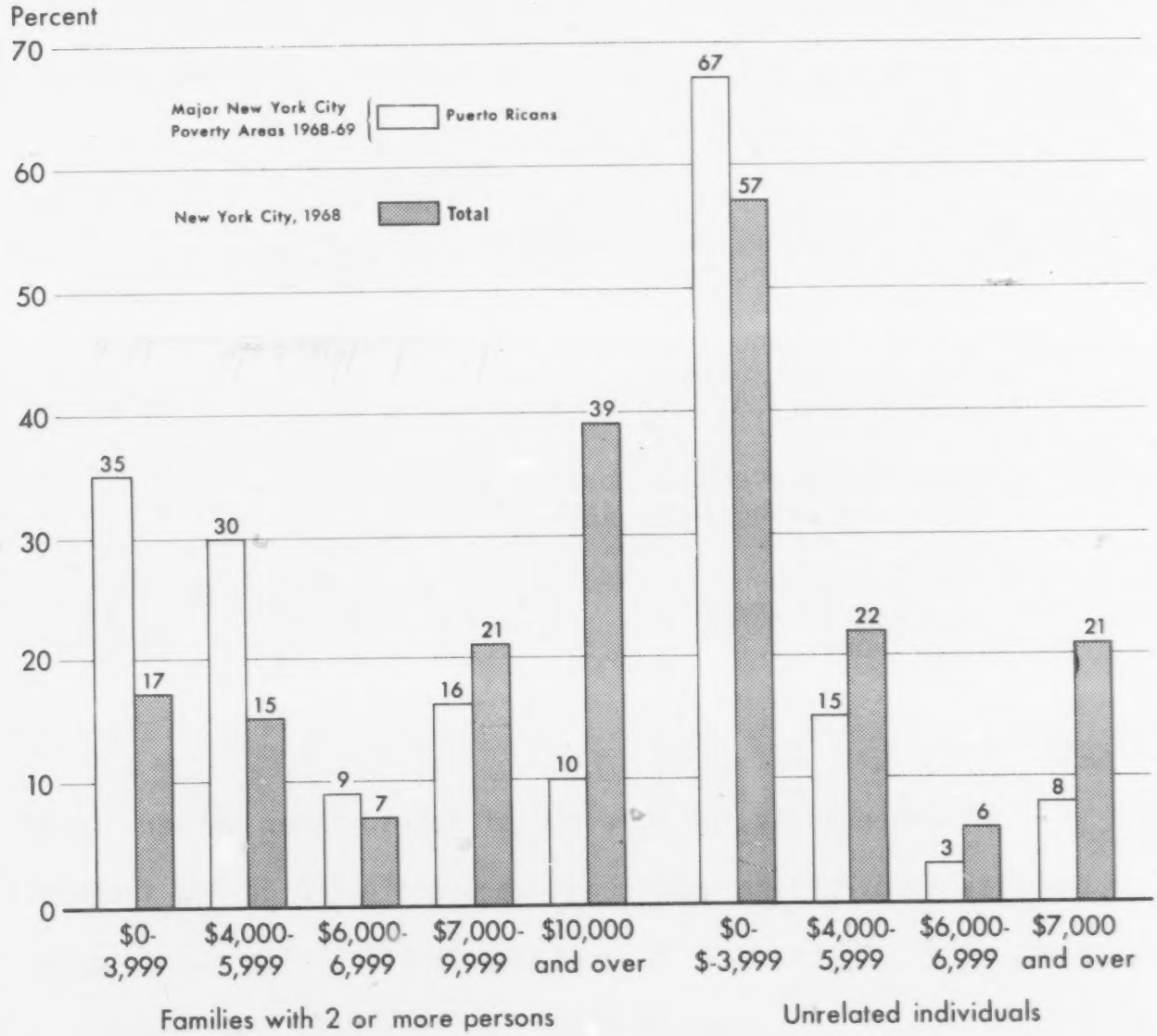
Income

The generally low earnings of Puerto Rican workers residing in the City's poverty neighborhoods were reflected in low incomes for their families. Of the more than 34,000 families with two or more members -- and of the close to 7,000 families with four members -- half reported annual incomes of less than about $5,000. Furthermore, the great majority of the 11,000 Puerto Ricans who were unattached to families, living either by themselves or with others to whom they were not related, had less than $5,000 in income; two thirds had less than $4,000 (see Chart IV).

The incidence of low income was roughly twice as high among Puerto Rican families in these neighborhoods as among the City's families generally, of whom less than one fourth had under $5,000 a year in 1968, roughly the same as the proportion of families nationally.

Chart IV

Annual Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals



Among Negro families, too, incomes tended generally to run higher than among Puerto Ricans, although they still lagged behind the City's families in general. As might be expected, families whose head had worked at some time during the year preceding the interview, as well as unrelated individuals with work experience, were likely to have higher incomes than those without work experience. Even so, more than one fourth of all Puerto Rican family heads who had worked the year round at full-time jobs reported less than $5,000 in annual family income (see Table 19).

Table 19. Family income under $5,000 by work experience of Puerto Rican family heads and unrelated individuals, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969

Work experience	Total	Income under $5,000	
		Number	Percent of total
Heads of families 1/			
With work experience	22,400	7,200	32
Full time	21,800	7,000	32
Year round	17,800	5,000	28
No work experience	12,000	9,700	81
Unrelated individuals 2/			
With work experience	6,800	5,100	75
Full time	6,700	4,800	72
Year round	4,900	3,400	3/
No work experience	4,500	4,100	3/

1/ Families with 2 or more persons.
2/ Unrelated individuals are persons living alone or with nonrelatives.
3/ Percent not shown where base is less than 5,000.

The median income of Puerto Rican families, $5,054 during the year preceding the survey period, represented less than three fifths of the median income of American families generally, and nine tenths of that of Negro families nationally. It compared with $5,806 for Negro families residing in the City's poverty areas.

The median income of unrelated individuals of Puerto Rican birth or parentage, $3,176, was higher than the corresponding national median, but taking account of the younger age structure of the Puerto Rican population, it probably ran below the national medians standardized for age. Thus, 25-34 year old unrelated individuals in the United States at large had a median income of $5,852 in 1968, and those 35-44 years old, one of $5,275.

A possible factor in the high proportion of low-income families among Puerto Ricans was the relatively low number of working wives who were secondary earners (that is, whose husbands were in the labor force and living with them). Three tenths of all Puerto Rican wives living with their husbands were in the labor force, compared with two fifths of all of the Nation's wives. Among Negroes in the City's poverty areas, the proportion of working wives living with their husbands was nearly three fifths, and this is likely to have contributed to maintaining the median income of Negro families above that of Puerto Rican families.

	Major New York City poverty areas 1968-69		United States
	Puerto Rican	Negro	March 1969
Working wives:			
All husbands, wife present	19,100	40,200	44,400,000
All working wives, husband present .	5,900	22,600	17,600,000
Percent, working wives	31	56	40

Poverty

The facts presented in the section on income suggest that widespread poverty and deprivation exist among Puerto Ricans residing in the City's Urban Employment Survey areas. Added dimension is lent these facts when family income is examined in terms of the cutoffs designated by the Social Security Administration as the poverty threshold. These cutoffs are for nonfarm residents in the United States, and reflect size of family.

For 1968, they read as follows:

Size of family	Poverty threshold
1 member	$1,748
2 members	2,262
3 members	2,774
4 members	3,553
5 members	4,188
6 or more members	5,496*

* Represents average for families with 6-11 members.

Close to one third of all Puerto Rican families lived in poverty by the stringent definitions of the Social Security Administration. More than one fifth of all 2-person families, one fourth of all 4-person families, and close to one half of all families with six or more members had incomes below the poverty threshold. Puerto Rican families were almost three times as likely to live in poverty as all of the City's families (see Table 20).

A particularly serious aspect of poverty is that it affects large numbers of children. Two thirds of the 10,600 Puerto Rican families with incomes below the poverty line had four or more members; close to one-fifth had three members. While age breakdowns of family members are not available, most members of families with three or more persons were children under 16. Many Puerto Rican children are thus growing up in disadvantaged conditions.

A manifest reason for poverty was the fact that about one out of every three Puerto Rican household heads had not worked during the year preceding the interview. Thirteen percent of all male household heads, 20-64, (probably mostly men over 45), and 68 percent of all

Table 20. Incidence of poverty among families and unrelated individuals, Puerto Ricans, major New York City poverty areas, July 1968-June 1969, and New York City, 1968

Size of family	Total	In poverty	
		Number	Percent of total
Puerto Rican			
All families	34,400	10,600	31
2 persons	7,400	1,600	22
3 persons	8,500	2,000	24
4 persons	6,900	1,800	26
5 persons	5,800	2,300	40
6 or more persons	5,800	2,800	48
Unrelated individuals	11,300	3,800	34
New York City 1/			
All families	2,121,000	224,000	11
2 persons	874,000	85,000	10
3 persons	492,000	37,000	7
4 persons	380,000	41,000	11
5 persons	199,000	24,000	12
6 or more persons	176,000	38,000	21
Unrelated individuals	964,000	272,000	28

1/ For source, see footnote to Table 2.

female household heads 20-64 -- all of whom headed families with 2 or more persons -- reported no work experience for the pre-interview year. The majority of all Puerto Rican household heads (about three fifths) who had no work experience had incomes below $3,000. Only about one eighth of household heads with work experience had such low incomes.

Puerto Rican household heads, 20-64:

	Total	Men	Women
Total	39,400	26,100	13,300
No work experience	12,300	3,300	9,000
Percent of total	31	13	68

At the core of the definition of the poverty thresholds listed above is the "economy" food plan which the Department of Agriculture designed for "emergency or temporary use when funds are low." The cost of this food plan was multiplied by three to arrive at the poverty threshold for a family of three. The multiple of three reflects the average relationship of the cost of food to family income, as reported by the Department of Agriculture on the basis of a 1955 survey of food consumption.[1/] For smaller families and for persons residing alone, the cost of the economy food plan was multiplied by factors that were slightly larger, in order to compensate for the relatively higher fixed expenses of these smaller households.[2/]

Reports and publications

This is the third report on findings from the Urban Employment Survey conducted in major poverty areas of New York City. Other reports on major aspects of survey findings are planned, and will be forthcoming as the data are analyzed and staff resources permit.

Copies of this report are available without charge from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Middle Atlantic regional office, 341 Ninth Avenue, New York, New York 10001. Related reports include:

Regional Report No. 13, Poverty Area Profiles: The Working Age Population: Initial Findings*

1/ See U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food Consumption and Dietary Levels of Households in the United States, (ARS 626), August 1967.

2/ For an assessment of the nutritional adequacy of the Department of Agriculture "emergency" food plan, see Sample menus and food list for one week based on USDA Economy Family Food Plan, Agricultural Research Service, May 1968.

* Out of print. Copies are on file for reference.

Regional Report No. 14, Poverty Area Profiles: Characteristics of the Unemployed. *

BLS Report No. 370, Employment Situation in Poverty Areas of Six Cities, July 1968-June 1969. *

Reports have also been published for the five other cities where the Urban Employment Survey has been conducted -- in Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Houston, and Los Angeles.

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* Out of print. Copies are on file for reference.

Concepts used in this report

Civilian noninstitutional population -- The population, 16 and over, residing in the New York City Urban Employment Survey area, exclusive of inmates of institutions, such as prisons and mental hospitals, and of members of the Armed Forces.

Employed persons -- Employed persons comprise (1) all civilians who, during the specified week, did any work at all as paid employees or in their own business or profession, or who worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in a business operated by a member of the family, and (2) all those who were not working (but who had jobs or businesses) because of illness, bad weather, vacation, or labor-management dispute, or because they were taking time off for personal reasons. Excluded from the employed group are persons whose only activity consisted of work around the house (such as own home housework, painting or repairing own home, etc.) or volunteer work for religious, charitable, and similar organizations.

Household -- A household consists of all the persons who occupy a housing unit. A house, an apartment, or other group of rooms, or a single room, is regarded as a housing unit when it is occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants do not live and eat with any other persons in the structure and in which there is either (1) direct access from the outside or through a common hall, or (2) a kitchen or cooking equipment for the exclusive use of the occupants.

Household head -- The head of household is the member reported as the head by the household respondent. Household heads are either heads of primary families or primary individuals. The head of a primary family is a household head living with one or more persons related to him by blood, marriage, or adoption. A primary individual is a household head living alone or with nonrelatives only.

Labor force -- The civilian labor force consists of the total of all civilians classified as "employed" or "unemployed" in accordance with the criteria described for these classifications.

Negro -- The designation "Negro" includes a small proportion of persons of races other than Negro or white. Excludes Puerto Ricans.

Not in the civilian labor force -- All persons who are not classified as employed or unemployed are defined as "not in labor force."

Part-time and full-time workers -- Persons who worked 1 to 34 hours are designated as working part-time. Persons who worked 35 hours or more are considered full-time workers.

Puerto Rican -- Puerto Rican refers to all persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage.

Race or ethnic group -- The designation "Negro" includes a small percentage of persons of races other than Negro or white. "Puerto Rican" includes all persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. It excludes Negroes. "White" excludes Puerto Rican.

Unemployed -- Unemployed persons are those civilians who had no employment during the survey week, were available for work, and: (1) had engaged in any specific jobseeking activity within the past 4 weeks. Principal activities include: registering at a public or private employment office; meeting with prospective employers; checking with friends or relatives; placing or answering advertisements; writing letters of application; or being on a union or professional register;

(2) were waiting to be called back to a job from which they had been laid off, or

(3) were waiting to report to a new wage or salary job scheduled to start within the following 30 days.

Unemployment rate -- represents the number unemployed as a percent of the civilian labor force.

Unrelated individual -- a person living alone or with others not his relatives. An unrelated individual may or may not be a primary individual, heading his or her own household.

White -- The designation "White" excludes persons of Puerto Ricans origin for purposes of this report.

Work experience -- Persons with work experience are civilians who worked at any time during the year preceding the interview at full-time or part-time jobs.

Part-time and full-time jobs -- Persons are classified as having worked at full-time jobs if they worked 35 hours or more per week in a majority of the weeks worked during the year. They are classified as having worked at part-time jobs if they worked 1 to 34 hours per week in a majority of the weeks worked during the year.

Part-year workers -- Part-year workers are persons who worked either full time or part time for 1 to 49 weeks.

Weeks worked -- Persons with work experience are classified according to the number of weeks in which they did any work during the year for pay or profit (including paid vacations or sick leave) or worked without pay on a family-operated farm or business.

Year-round full-time workers -- Year-round full-time workers are persons who worked primarily at full-time jobs for 50 weeks or more.

Technical note

The data for the Urban Employment Survey in New York City, on which this report is based pertain to the July 1968-June 1969 period, and were compiled from household surveys of persons 16 and over who resided in the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) areas of Central and East Harlem, and the South Bronx. In addition, the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn was surveyed. The Urban Employment Survey was also conducted in Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, and Los Angeles, and in the balance of the cities of Detroit and Atlanta.

CEP areas are areas in which the Department of Labor has combined separate manpower programs in order to concentrate these programs in specific neighborhoods. The selection of CEP areas in New York as well as in the other UES cities was in large part based on the extent of unemployment and poverty in the areas as shown mostly by the 1960 Decennial Census.

The Urban Employment Survey was directed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics with the cooperation and financing of the Manpower Administration. The Bureau of the Census collected and tabulated the data. The data were collected by trained Census Bureau interviewers from a sample of about 3,600 households in 151 Census tracts in New York City, maps of which may be found on the following pages.

Although the areas covered in this report are referred to as poverty neighborhoods, it should be noted that they include persons and families who are not living in poverty conditions, and who do not have serious employment problems.

The racial or ethnic designations in this report are defined as follows: "Negro" excludes Puerto Ricans, and includes less than 2 percent of persons of races other than Negro or White. "Puerto Rican" refers to all persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. "White" refers to all white persons other than Puerto Rican.

Reliability of the estimates

The estimates in this report and in the detailed tables that follow are based on a sample of 3,600 households, and they may differ from the figures that would have been obtained, had it been possible to take a complete census, using the same schedule and procedures. The design of the sample used provides the greatest reliability for data concerning broad population groups; estimates for small groups -- particularly where they fall below 5,000 -- will have larger relative

sampling errors. Differences between such small estimates may be simply the result of sampling variability, and should therefore be interpreted with caution.

All statements of comparison made in the text of this report are statistically significant at a level of at least 1.6 times the standard error; that is, the chances are at least 9 out of 10 that a difference identified in the text indicates a true difference between estimates rather than the chance variations arising from the use of samples.

The standard error is a measure of sampling variability; it indicates the variations that might occur by chance because only a sample of the population was surveyed. The chances are about two out of three that an estimate from the sample would differ from a complete census by less than the standard error. The chances are about 9 out of 10 that the difference would be less than 1.6 times the standard error, and 19 out of 20 that it would be less than twice the standard error. The following tables show approximations of standard errors of the levels and of the rates and percentages presented in this report for the New York City Urban Employment Survey area.

Standard errors of level of the annual estimates for the New York City Urban Employment Survey

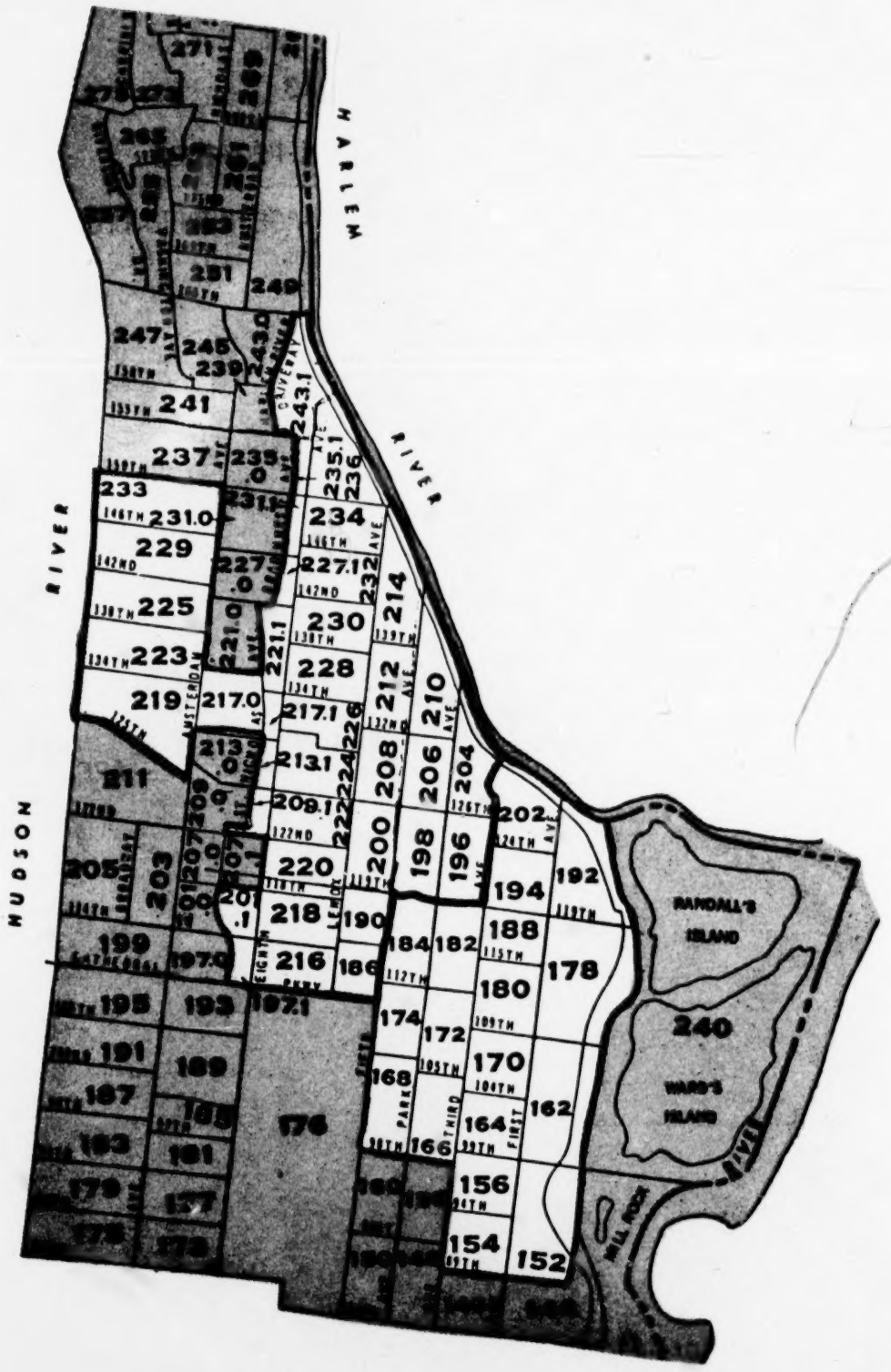
Size of estimates	Standard error
5,000	560
10,000	800
20,000	1,150
30,000	1,400
40,000	1,600
80,000	2,400
120,000	3,000
160,000	3,500
200,000	4,100
240,000	4,600
280,000	5,100
320,000	5,500
360,000	6,000
400,000	6,400

Standard errors of level of the annual estimates of percentages for the New York City Urban Employment Survey

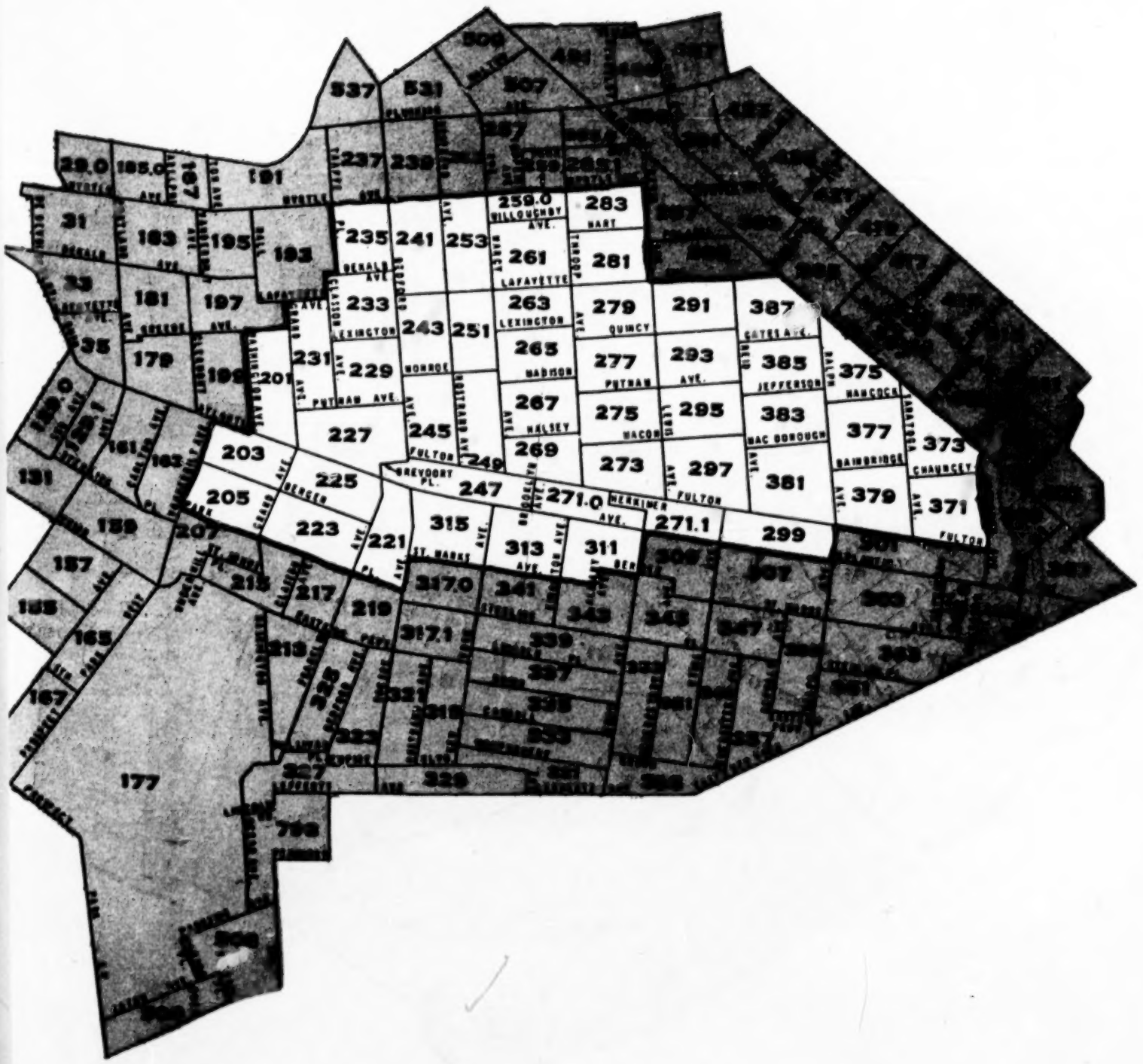
Base of percentage	Estimated percentage						
	1 or 99	2 or 98	5 or 95	10 or 90	20 or 80	25 or 75	50
5,000	1.1	1.6	2.5	3.4	4.5	4.9	5.6
10,000	.8	1.1	1.7	2.4	3.2	3.4	4.0
20,000	.6	.8	1.2	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.8
30,000	.5	.7	1.0	1.4	1.8	2.0	2.3
40,000	.4	.6	.8	1.1	1.6	1.6	1.9
80,000	.3	.4	.6	.8	1.1	1.2	1.3
120,000	.2	.3	.5	.6	.9	1.0	1.1
160,000	.1	.3	.4	.6	.8	.8	1.0
200,000	.1	.2	.4	.5	.7	.8	.8
240,000	.1	.2	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8
280,000	.1	.2	.4	.4	.6	.6	.7
320,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.6	.6	.7
360,000	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.6
400,000	.1	.1	.3	.4	.5	.5	.6

MAPS OF CENSUS TRACTS

INCLUDED IN NEW YORK CITY UES AREA



UES area census tracts unshaded



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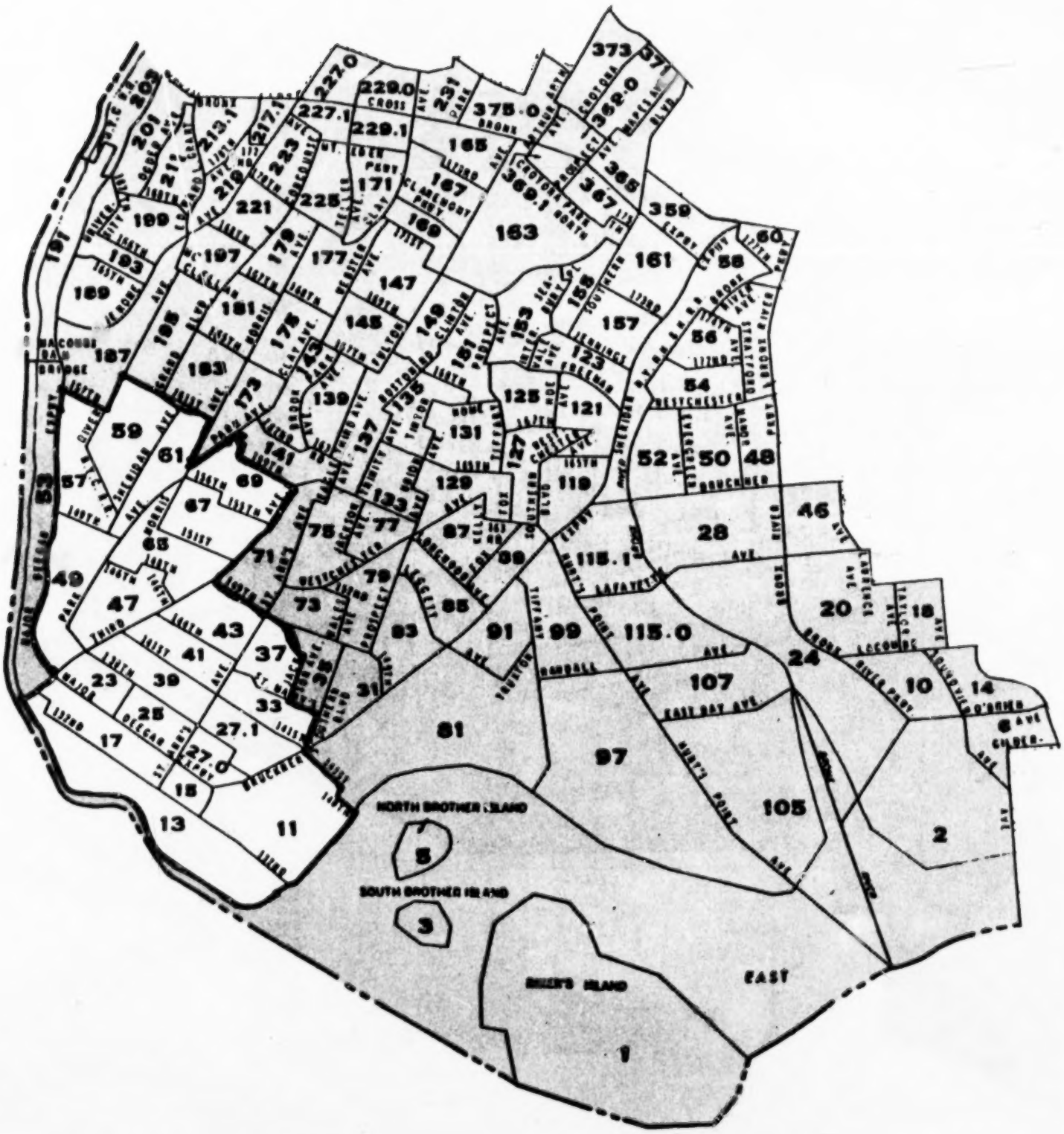

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